1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
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is usually prepared as *clemole*, boiled and served with a sauce of *chiles*. This is a favorite breakfast dish. The wealthier and more sophisticated buy baker's bread for the morning and the evening meals, but eat *tortillas* too. The afternoon meal is much the same; it is likely to be the heaviest meal of the day. Then may be eaten lima beans toasted, or *tortas*, or perhaps chick-peas. Coffee or chocolate, and less commonly milk, may be drunk at any meal.

Intimately, when only the family is present, all sit together on the ground beside the hearth and eat. (Of course the well-to-do use tables.) If male company is present, the man sits with the guests and they are served by his wife, who eats alone. After breakfast the man goes to the field, or to his workbench; the wife resumes her domestic labors. The last sound at night, when all other sounds but the braying of *burros* and the barking of dogs have failed, is the slap-slap of the *tortillera* and the subdued, wet, rubbing sound of the maize-grinder.

A large share of the woman's life and interests is taken up with the *metate*, that ancient grinding-stone that has not changed in form or function for thousands of years. For some ten years a small steam mill has been in operation in Tepoztlán;[1] to this the women may bring their maize to be ground. But that most of the maize is, nevertheless, ground on domestic *metates* is due not only to the fact that mill-ground maize

[1] This is owned and operated not by a Tepoztecan but by a man from Xochimilco, Federal District.

2;Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

to dress in the white *calsones* and huaraches like most Tepoztecans, may be called "un indio platudo," a wealthy Indian, or literally "a silvered Indian." Thus, the residents of Gabriel Mariaca are often described as "esos inditos tienen harta lana, son platudos."

The term *negro* or *negra* is sometimes used as a term of abuse. An irate husband may call his wife *negra* or *cambuca* if she is a shade darker than he. But similarly, he may call her *gringa*, if she is somewhat lighter; both terms are intended as insults.

Many of the sons and daughters of the old *cacique* families seem to be lighter than the rest of the population, suggesting that the *caciques* of the Díaz epoch may have had a stronger admixture of Spanish blood than did the rest of the population. However, groupings do not run along racial lines. About an equal sprinkling of light-skinned people is found among the rich and poor, the *cultos*, the *ignorantes*, etc.

WEALTH

The concepts of rich and poor are frequently used designations of social status in Tepoztlán. But the terms are used in a relative way, are not easily defined, and are applied, as a rule, to individuals rather than to groups. All Tepoztecans tend to characterize themselves as poor, and there is no ostentatious display of wealth on the part of the rich. Concealing wealth is a deep-seated trait, done to avoid envy, claims of friends, taxes, and contributions to the church and public affairs. This attitude tends to limit the function of wealth as a factor for social differentiation. And, by and large, the rich in Tepoztlán are not easily distinguishable from the poor.

Both rich and poor work the land dressed in the same white *calsones* and huaraches; both rich and poor hire day laborers when necessary; and men who own property, as well as those who do not, hire themselves out as laborers when cash is needed. Many of the present-day rich families were once poor, and they cling to the habits of hard work and frugality with which they improved their economic status. However, in varying degrees the rich have a higher standard of living than the poor and can be said to eat better, dress better, and live in more comfortable and better equipped homes. But a man's wealth is not judged by the way in which he lives; rather it is estimated in the amount of land, cattle, plow-oxen, and money he has.

In general there is no sharp social distance between the rich and poor, although there is much sensitivity and awareness of differences in economic status. People in Tepoztlán prefer the company of their equals or inferiors, rather than those who are in a superior economic status. But although a rich man may explain the poverty of a neighbor in terms of his being backward and ignorant, he will treat him with due respect.

LAND-OWNERSHIP

The expression, "He has many lands" (land parcels) is the simplest way the Tepoztecan has of designating wealth and high social status. Conversely, when one

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

says, "He has no land" it is the equivalent of stating that a man is poor. But the contrast between landless and landholders from a purely economic point of view is not sharp, because most landholders have tiny holdings and do not live any better than many who are landless.[4] Yet, even the ownership of a small parcel adds to a man's social standing because of the positive value associated with land-ownership. The acquisition of even a small parcel of land gives the Tepoztecan a feeling of well being and security. It should be noted that the landholders and the landless do not constitute distinct social classes, and there is no conflict of ideologies between them.

Within the category of landholders a distinction is made between (1) *propietarios*, those who own private land; (2) *ejidatarios*, those who hold *ejido* parcels; and (3) *tlacololeros*, those who work communal lands. The economic aspects of these three distinct tenurial types will be treated later.[5] Here it should be noted that, in a sense, each represents a distinct status group, with the greatest prestige attached to *propietarios* and the least to the *tlacololeros*. In addition, each group has different and sometimes conflicting interests, and as such is developing distinctive group consciousness.

The *tlacololeros*, for example, organized themselves during the thirties and have taken the leadership in defending the communal lands in boundary disputes with other municipios, because these are the lands upon which they depend. The *tlacololeros* as a group have been opposed to the nationalization of the communal lands of the municipio and the creation of a municipal *ejido*. They view the transfer of *tlacolol* land to *ejidatarios* as a threat to their interests. Thus, the *tlacololeros* are the staunchest defenders of the ancient Indian system of communal land-ownership.

The *ejidatarios*, on the other hand, do not share the collectivist tendencies of the *tlacololeros*. On the contrary, they seem motivated by a strong sense of individualism and would like to become private owners of the *ejido* parcels assigned them. The *ejidatarios* are perhaps the most politically conscious group in the village, for their welfare depends in large measure on political considerations, and particularly on maintaining cordial relations with the *ejido* commissioner.

LABOR RELATIONS

Most landowners in Tepoztlán have occasion to be both employers and employees during the year. As employers they hire *peones* to help with the planting and harvesting, and as employees they hire themselves out to other landowners or artisans when work on their own land is over. This double role is a common one and blurs whatever class lines there are in Tepoztlán. Even those who are *peones* the whole year round hope some day to be landowners and employers. Also, employees are frequently relatives, *compadres*, or friends with whom there is a reciprocal arrangement of aid or labor exchange. There are no men who employ many workers on a large scale; three or four *peones* who are hired for short periods

[4] The contrast between landholder and landless was much sharper before the Revolution.
[5] See Chapter 6, "Land Tenure," p. 113.

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terests of a small clique within that village. The schisms created by this cooperative within the village and the municipio will be treated later in this study.

These facts indicate the strong individualism of the villagers, and the interesting way in which new contacts with the outside and production for the market have disrupted the earlier stability of the municipio. As long as production of charcoal was primarily for household use, there seemed to be no conflict between collective ownership and individual exploitation of the resources. As a matter of fact, the communal lands have been one of the few unifying factors in the life of the municipio and have brought the villagers together to defend their lands in the face of threats from the outside. However, with commercial exploitation of the limited communal resources, competition became intense, and the concept of communal land ownership by the municipio was attacked.

PRIVATE HOLDINGS

As we have indicated earlier, private landholdings include most of the lands for plow agriculture; that is, most of the level lands. The only other privately owned lands are the house sites in the village, most of which include some ground for a garden and for some corn plantings. The history of private landholdings is not very clear. Certainly we know that private holdings have existed at least since the time of the Conquest. Whether or not it existed in Tepoztlán before the Conquest cannot be determined, but, judging from the data for other parts of Mexico, it is probable that private holdings coexisted with other holdings. Much of the land that is now privately owned, approximately one hundred hectares of the most productive lands of the municipio, once belonged to the church. This land was divided into private holdings after the Revolution of 1857. Most of the landowners now have some document to prove title; but there are still many individuals who work plots of land which have been passed down from family to family without any written proof of ownership.

The ownership of land is one of the basic aspirations of Tepoztecan peasants, and land-ownership is perhaps their most important single criterion of wealth. The value put on land-ownership is reflected, in part, by the fact that farmers, artisans, and merchants invest in land whenever they have the necessary capital and the opportunity. But there is no concentration of land-ownership in the hands of a few. There are several reasons for this. Few people in Tepoztlán will sell tillable land, and when they do they prefer to sell to close relatives. On the whole there is little land turnover. Tepoztecans with sufficient capital to purchase large quantities of land do not do so, because they seek more profitable kinds of investments, generally in cattle. The high cost of labor and the low and uneven yields in plow agriculture make corn production for commercial purposes unprofitable.

DISTRIBUTION OF PRIVATE HOLDINGS

According to our findings, only 36 per cent or 311 of the 853 families in the village own private land. Thus, in a village where the family ideal is to own a plot

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tecans were looking for land buyers. In the summer of 1947, I was approached by three individuals who wanted to sell me a house plot. However, the high price paid by the Mexican banker and a few other early comers gave Tepoztecans an exaggerated notion of the value of their land. House sites which were worth about 100 to 200 pesos in 1927 now would not be sold for less than 10,000 pesos. This has made a few people wealthy, especially those who were fortunate enough to have house sites fronting the new road.

THE LAND PROBLEM

The land problem in Tepoztlán is not a recent phenomenon. It was at least as severe in the twenties, before the *ejido* grants, and it was certainly more acute before the Revolution. Twenty years ago, the 158 families who now have *ejidos* were landless *peones*. Thus, the *ejido* program in Tepoztlán has had at least two beneficial effects. It has reduced the number of landless families, and it has helped some families, who had insufficient land, to increase their holdings. But the *ejido* program has by no means solved the land problem, for 384 families still remain landless and have little prospect of becoming landowners. Although the *ejido* program brought new and more modern agricultural techniques, there is still not a single tractor in Tepoztlán.

It is apparent that our findings on land-ownership in Tepoztlán differ from those in Redfield's earlier study. Redfield did not mention the existence of a land problem or land shortage in Tepoztlán. Although Redfield gives no clear-cut statement on the matter of land-ownership, and treats the entire subject rather incidentally, there is an implication that each family in Tepoztlán owned its own land. Redfield writes, "Most families have at least a small milpa in which the men are active during the seasons of sowing and harvesting."[7] We have shown that in 1944, 64 per cent of the families owned no private land, and there is no reason to believe that the land situation was any better in 1926. Redfield's use of the term "milpa" is perhaps responsible for what appears to be a sharp difference in our findings. He did not distinguish between a privately owned milpa and a milpa of communally owned land. A Tepoztecan speaks of "my milpa" in referring to rented land, communal land, or private land. Unless the investigator probed further, he might well get the impression that all Tepoztecans were landowners.

Redfield conveyed this impression in another connection. In discussing private lands he wrote,

> Characteristically each *sitio* has an appendant milpa which may be located as much as a mile away from the *sitio:* but the two are usually taxed and inherited together. These tracts are not infrequently sold, but most of them have been in the same family for many generations.[8]

This quotation raises a number of questions. First, Tepoztecans distinguish be-

[7] Redfield, *Tepoztlán*, p. 145.
[8] *Ibid*, p. 61.

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that cattle stealing increases markedly before important fiestas, particularly before the Carnaval in February, the fiesta of Izcatepec in April, the celebration of the national holidays in August, and All Saints' Day on November first. Cattle thieves are shot on sight, and each year a few are killed.

It is estimated that the families who own considerable cattle spend approximately 140 days during the year in caring for them. A rough estimate of the distribution of the time, based on interviews with a few cattle owners, follows:

Month	*Days Spent Guarding Cattle*
January	8
February	8
March	8
April	12
May	12
June	4
July	4
August	15
September	30
October	31
November	4
December	4
Total	140

Although cattle and other livestock are an important supplementary source of income, animal ownership is on a small scale and is limited to a relatively small proportion of families. Table 39 presents the distribution of cattle, oxen, horses, mules, donkeys, and hogs among families in each of the barrios.

It can be seen that only 179, or 21 per cent, of the families own cattle. Well over 50 per cent of these families own between one and three cows; about 40 per cent own four to ten cows. The largest herd in 1943 was a little over seventy head, although estimates obtained in 1947 showed much larger herds, with the two wealthiest cattlemen having about 150 head each. There are only about a dozen men in the village who might be said to raise cattle on a large scale, and only six of these have herds of over fifty.

The ownership of oxen is limited to 177, or 20 per cent of the families. Of these, only two families own more than one team of oxen. The low percentage of families owning a team of oxen indicates the limited extent to which Tepoztecan farmers own one of the basic means of production.

The distribution of horses, donkeys, and mules owned by families in the proportions of 28 per cent, 11 per cent, and 14 per cent, respectively, reflects the local evaluation of work animals. Mules are more popular than donkeys, and horses are valued more highly than either. Riding horses as against work horses are considered

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a luxury. The prestige associated with horse ownership goes back to the colonial period when only leading men of the village were allowed to ride a horse.[2]

Ownership of horses, mules, or donkeys is on a small scale; most families have only one animal. The largest number of work animals owned by a single family is six horses and four mules.

Hogs are more widely distributed among the villagers. About forty per cent of the families of Tepoztlán own at least one hog, and many own two or three. The smaller outlay of capital and the lower gains involved in the purchase and sale of hogs limits hog-ownership to the poorer families. It is interesting to note that a very small proportion of the families in the barrio of San Miguel own hogs despite the fact that this barrio has a large proportion of poor families. This may be attributed to the fact that the road runs through this barrio, and the passing buses and automobiles have killed off too many of the hogs to make hog raising profitable or safe.

Most of the animals used for food are slaughtered in the village. There is practically no trade in cattle or hogs outside of the municipio. There is also relatively little buying and selling of cattle and oxen within the village, since most of them are traditionally purchased in the state of Guerrero where prices are lower. Some men make it a practice to go to Guerrero to buy cattle for resale in Tepoztlán at a nice profit, but this is done on a small scale and only intermittently. Several of the better-to-do farmers became prosperous by doing this during the turbulent years after the Revolution when few dared to leave the village.

It is estimated that a team of oxen work on an average of ninety days a year. Since most families do not own their own oxen, the oxen owners do a good deal of custom work. In 1947 an oxen owner charged 16 pesos per day, that is 4 pesos for the driver and 12 pesos for the team. The income from renting a team of oxen for a ninety-day period would therefore be 1,080 pesos, less about 120 pesos for the cost of feed. When oxen are rented by the season, the charge is generally only 200 pesos, but the renter has the obligation of feeding and caring for the animals and assumes all responsibility in case of accident or death. Plow-oxen are also rented in exchange for corn, generally for six *cargas* of corn, worth about 300 pesos in 1947.

Mules and donkeys are considered to yield an even greater income than plow-oxen, for they can be rented for a greater variety of jobs and for longer periods. Mules are used primarily for transporting charcoal, wood, corn, and beans. The rental for two mules was 14 pesos a day in 1947. The income from a team of mules would therefore be close to 500 pesos over a ninety-day period.

Hogs are bought, fattened, and sold by many families, but the profit is kept low because of the local custom of fattening hogs with good corn, which is expensive. A young pig costs about 30 pesos and after a year of fattening can be sold to a butcher for 225 pesos. The cost of food per day runs to about 50 centavos, or 182½

[2] For documents on this point see *Indios*, Vol. 4, Exp. 398.

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9 *wealth differences and levels of living:*

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THE FIRST step we took in the study of wealth differences in Tepoztlán was to determine how wealth was defined by the villagers. Invariably, *los ricos* (the wealthy) were described as "those who own much land and cattle." Private land ownership (in contrast to *ejido* holdings) was considered the most important single form of wealth. In all, twelve items were most frequently mentioned by informants as forms of wealth in the village. These were *ejido* plots, privately owned land, teams of oxen, plows, cattle, burros, mules, horses, hogs, sewing machines, urban property (that is, the ownership of more than one house site and house in the village), and plum trees. These items have this in common—they are all means of production and a source of income.

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To rank the families according to their wealth, we devised a point scale using one point for every 100 pesos of value.[1] Points were assigned to each of the items in accordance with the approximate sale value, the approximate production value, or both. Thus, one hectare of *ejido* land was assigned 3.6 points because the average annual production of one hectare of *ejido* land in Tepoztlán as of June, 1944, had a market value of 360 pesos. One hectare of privately owned land was assigned 7.2 points, which represented both the value of production and the sale value.

The items of the scale, and the assigned points for each item are given as follows:

1 hectare *ejido*	3.6
1 hectare private land	7.2
1 team of oxen	7.2
1 plow	.7
1 cow	3.1
1 donkey	1.5
1 mule	3.0
1 horse	2.5
1 hog	1.5
1 sewing machine	3.5
1 urban site and house	7.5
1 plum tree	1.0
1 non-farm occupation	1.0*

* For every 100 pesos earned annually.

[1] This scale does not measure income.

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511 556 A score was obtained for a given family by adding the number of points which were obtained for each item. For example, if a family owned 4 hectares of land (the minimum size of holding considered necessary by Tepoztecans for a "decent living" for a family of five), 1 plow, 1 team of oxen, 1 horse, 1 cow, 2 hogs, 2 plum trees, and 1 sewing machine, it would receive a score of 47 points. Since this is a very modest list, even according to Tepoztecan standards, a score of 40 to 50 points may be taken to represent approximately the minimum in property ownership necessary for a self-sufficient farm family. The distribution of scores is presented in Table 45.

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TABLE 45. Frequency Distribution of Tepoztecan Families on Economic Point Scale.

Score	No. of Families	Per Cent of Total	Sub-Group	Per Cent of Total	Main Group	Per Cent of Total
400–407	1	.11				
220–253	3	.35				
200–219	2	.23				
190–199	1	.11	B	1.5		
180–189	1	.11				
170–179	3	.35				
160–169	2	.23			III	4.4
150–159	3	.35				
140–149	3	.35				
130–139	5	.58				
120–129	4	.46	A	2.9		
110–119	4	.46				
100–109	6	.70				
90–99	16	1.87				
80–89	18	2.11				
70–79	17	1.99				
60–69	20	2.34		13.9	II	13.9
50–59	28	3.28				
40–49	20	2.34				
30–39	74	8.67				
20–29	111	13.00	C	21.6		
10–19	206	24.15			I	81.5
1–9	213	24.02	B	49.2		
0	92	10.78	A	10.7		

511 556 735 The most significant features in this frequency distribution are (1) the extremely wide range of wealth differences from zero to over 400 points; (2) the great majority clustering around the lower end of the scale, indicating widespread poverty (note that 81 per cent of the families have scores below what we have tentatively designated as a minimum for decent subsistence); (3) the 92 families having a zero score; and (4) the manner in which, from the distribution of the scores, the families fall into distinct economic groups. Eighty-one per cent of the families are in the lowest group (point score 0–39); 13.9 per cent are in the middle group

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(40–99); and 4.4 per cent are in the upper group (100–407.4). The lowest group can be broken down into three subgroups: those with 0 score, from 1–19 and 20–39, which we shall call I–A, I–B, and I–C, respectively. The middle group will be referred to as II. The upper group will be III–A (100–159) and III–B (160 and over).

To test the validity of our groupings, we asked ten informants to name the ten wealthiest families in the village. All those named were in our top group. Another way in which we checked our scale was to present names selected from each of the economic levels of the scale and ask informants to rank them according to their wealth. Again we found a very high correlation.

What are the characteristics of each of these economic groups? First let us consider the families with zero scores. For the most part they are either young married men, most of whom live with their parents, who also have low scores; or they are widows or old men, many of whom live alone. One-third of this group are women who manage to earn a living by small-scale trade and by doing odd jobs.

Groups I-A and I-B, which consist of 511 families with scores 0-19, contain 97 per cent of the landless people in the village. Three hundred and fifty-four, or 70 per cent, of the families in this group have zero scores for land. How do these landless people live? Approximately one-third depend upon *tlacolol*, but all depend upon a variety of activities which together provide a meager income. Many burn charcoal, sell wood, work as peons, are small traders, or have some other part-time occupation. They have some measure of security in that most of them own their houses and house sites or will inherit them. About one-third have hogs. Less than one-third own a mule, horse, or donkey.

The 119 families in Group II include most of the artisans and merchants as well as better-to-do farmers. The former are the most acculturated group in the village. They are the ones who wear ready-made clothes, send their children out of Tepoztlán to high school, and generally have a higher standard of living.

Group III consists of 38 families, all of whom have high scores on land, cattle, or both. About one-half of these families have inherited their land from wealthy relatives who before the Revolution were *caciques* and dominated the village. The other half have worked their way up to their present position.

We might ask whether there is any relationship between position on this scale and standard of living. Do the wealthiest people have the highest standard of living? On the whole, the people in Group III consume more meat, milk, eggs, and bread, and they generally live in better constructed and better furnished houses, some of which have running water. But they are not the ones who go in for modern dress or any ostentatious spending for comforts or luxuries. They are a hard-working people and not a leisure class. One of the distinguishing characteristics of this group is that they generally have hired men all year around, but, with the exception of two men, they work side by side with their peons.

What is the relationship between wealth and the adoption of new traits? The Mexican Census of 1940 included three interesting items which provide us with

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some data on acculturation in relation to standard of living. The questions were: Do you eat bread (as against tortillas)? Do you wear shoes (as against going barefoot or wearing huaraches)? Do you sleep on a bed or a cot (as against sleeping on the ground or on a *tepexco*, a raised frame upon which the *petate* is placed)?

From a special tabulation of the census of Tepoztlán, we were able to correlate the responses to these questions with the family position on the economic scale. The results are shown in Table 46.

TABLE 46. Distribution of Acculturated Habits by Economic Groups.

Group	Per Cent Who Eat Bread	Per Cent Who Wear Shoes	Per Cent Who Sleep on Beds or Cots
I-A and I-B	23.20	6.46	14.12
I-C	32.30	6.78	23.18
II	50.82	12.06	30.71
III-A	41.55	7.14	21.42
III-B	57.69	5.12	16.66
Total	41.11	7.51	21.22

It is clear that eating bread correlates positively with economic position. Thus, 23 per cent of the people in Groups I-A and I-B, as compared with 57 per cent of the people in Group III-B, ate bread. Furthermore, we know from our observation that the wealthier people do eat bread more often and in greater quantities; bread is still a luxury in this village.

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Wearing shoes and sleeping in beds do not correlate with wealth, but rather with age. That is, the older people, rich or poor, prefer to use huaraches or go barefoot, and to sleep on the traditional *petate* or on a *tepexco*. We have here a nice example of the factor of selectivity in the adoption of new traits. Families who do not use shoes or beds will often buy sewing machines.

It should be noted that a larger percentage of Group II have adopted new traits, even though their economic resources are less than those of Group III. Table 47 shows the frequency distribution of the age of heads of families by economic categories.

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TABLE 47. Age Distribution of Heads of Families by Economic Group.

Group	Years of Age				
	Less Than 29	30–49	50–69	70–99	Total
I-A	31	31	18	12	92
I-B	63	194	132	30	419
I-C	6	88	77	14	185
II	3	46	52	18	119
III-A	0	9	15	1	25
III-B	0	1	11	1	13
Total	103	369	305	76	853

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It is apparent that there are no younger people in the upper group and very few in the middle group. The bulk of the younger people are at the low end of the scale. Conversely, the wealthiest are of an advanced age, mostly between fifty and sixty-nine. Forty-one per cent of the heads of families in Group I are over age fifty; 59 per cent are in Group II; and 74 per cent are in Group III. But while most of the wealthy are of advanced age, not all the old people are wealthy. The fact that 41 per cent of those in Group I are older people shows that vertical mobility is quite limited. The practice of not dividing up the property until the death of the parents often results in married sons, with as many as five children, being entirely landless and without a house of their own.

There are no institutionalized barriers to vertical mobility in Tepoztlán. No single group has a monopoly of the means of production or the sources of wealth. No single group controls sufficient capital or labor to achieve wealth by its use or exploitation. The rate of capital accumulation is very slow because of the limited natural resources, the poor technology, and the low productivity, since the family is the basic productive unit. Nevertheless, there is a trend toward the concentration of wealth, especially in land. The upper economic group, though constituting only four per cent of all the families, owns approximately twenty-five per cent of the land, including some of the best land. Cattle ownership shows a similar trend.

It should be emphasized that there were no younger men as heads of families in the upper economic group. And the majority of the young men now in Groups I and II have little prospect of ever achieving the top position. In this sense there is little upward mobility possible in Tepoztlán. In keeping with this situation, we find that most Tepoztecans are convinced of the impossibility of becoming wealthy, and accordingly do not organize their lives around the goal of wealth. Rather, they are concerned with the day-to-day problems of subsistence. It is primarily among the families of Group II that we find higher aspirations, and it is from this group that there is some upward mobility.

Though the upper group is small, it is important to note that more people qualify for the upper group now than would have been the case before the Revolution, indicating that there has been increased upward movement since that time. Indeed, the shape of the social and economic pyramid has changed considerably. Before the Revolution the distribution of wealth was more concentrated in the hands of a few at the top of the pyramid, and the majority of Tepoztecans were day laborers for the local *caciques* and haciendas. One of the effects of the Revolution was to broaden the land base, enlarge the class of small landowners or *ejidatarios*, and at the same time increase the size of the upper group. It must also be noted that at least half of the families in the upper group worked their way up and are not members of the old *cacique* families. The wealthy are largely a new group who have taken advantage of the greater economic and political liberties since the Revolution. In fact, some of them were Zapatistas who had fought against the old regime.

Some of the newly rich got their start during the hectic days of the Revolution

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when they were able to buy land at low prices from hungry and half-starved villagers. The chaotic conditions during the Revolution, and the burning of the local archives and property registers, enabled some families to obtain land by devious methods. When the *caciques* fled the village, their lands were cultivated by the poorer families who remained. For the most part, however, these lands were returned to the owners or their heirs when they came back after peace had been established. In some poor families in which the head of the family was killed in the Revolution, the widows lost their land because they could show no legal title and were too poor to fight the cases in the courts.

Perhaps the most important ways in which families have obtained their wealth since the Revolution are through hard work, thrift, and self-denial over many years, and through the purchase and sale of cattle. Cattle trips to Guerrero and southern Morelos immediately after the Revolution were dangerous, and only those with courage, initiative, and a little capital went. In regard to self-denial, it is a common saying in Tepoztlán that the rich are the most miserly and thrifty. The terms *codo* (stingy) and *miserable* are often applied to the rich by their poorer neighbors. It should also be noted that in practically all cases of better-to-do families, the wife has been a hard worker and a good manager and has played a crucial part in aiding the family.

Movement down the economic ladder is occasioned by a number of factors. The fact that property is divided more or less equally among all the children makes it difficult for the same family to maintain its high position from one generation to another, although the sons of such families have an obvious advantage over the sons of landless families. But there are also other factors. Illness, lack of thrift, or poor management may result in a rapid loss of resources. Well-to-do families are also subject to some pressure from the community to participate in the fiesta life, and some of the wealthier families spend more heavily on costumes for the Carnaval and accept the job of barrio *mayordomo*, which always entails expenses. But as a rule it is the families of the middle group that go in for this type of spending.

HOUSING AND HOUSE FURNISHINGS

The houses of Tepoztlán are essentially of three types, the primitive *jacal*, the adobe house, and the more substantial dwellings found in the center of the village. The *jacal* and the adobe house are basically Indian, and the houses in the center show more of the Spanish influence.

The *jacal* is the poorest type of house in Tepoztlán and is considered primitive and extremely undesirable by the majority of the population. (See Fig. 35.) It is a flimsy structure of cornstalks or *otate* (Mexican bamboo), with thatched roof and earthen floor that give insufficient protection against cold, wind, and rain. The roof is apt to be gabled, in contrast with the one-sided sloping roof that is common in the village. The *jacal* is relatively infrequent in Tepoztlán and makes up less than 5 per cent of all dwellings; it is almost entirely limited to the smaller, outlying barrios, particularly in the upper part of the village. The *jacal* is far more

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Fig. 37. *Cacique* homes.

umns. The rooms of the house are grouped in a rectangle or U-shape and open onto a wide *corredor*, which generally runs the inside length and sides of the house, enclosing the patio. These houses are constructed of brick or stone, covered with plaster, and whitewashed inside and out. A good number of these houses are now in disrepair. Not infrequently the families living in them are the impoverished sons or widows of formerly wealthy men. 342 511

While only the poorest live in *jacales*, it is by no means true that the wealthiest live in the finest houses. Families of every category of wealth live in simple adobe houses. A few of the richest men, who represent the conservative older generation, continue to live in relatively unimproved houses. 342 511 556

There is a distinct tendency for newly rich families to build their homes with simple exteriors, even though the interior may have a degree of elegance and the family can well afford a more imposing looking house. This is done to avoid getting the reputation of being wealthy and to avoid the envy and malice of others. The violence and destruction wreaked against the homes of the wealthy during the Revolution are well remembered, and a few informants made specific reference to the fear of such a recurrence in explaining why they had built their new homes with such plain exteriors. [735] [578] [669]

The great majority of houses in Tepoztlán have no running water or sanitary facilities of any kind. Water is carried in tin cans from the closest public fountain; 312 511

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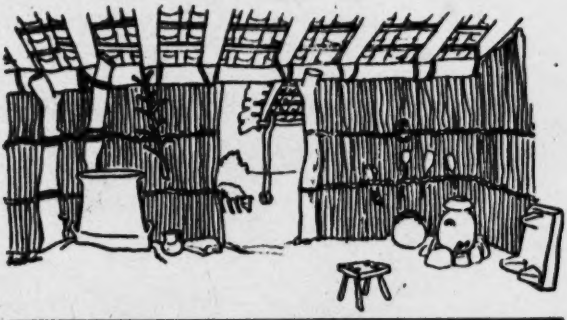
in household comforts. On the other hand, many of the older generation, even those with means, scorn innovations and prefer to live the way they have always lived, investing what surplus they have in land and cattle. The use of modern household equipment correlates more with age and education than with wealth. On the whole, we find modern equipment more frequently in the homes of families with a medium income. In the homes of the better-to-do there is almost always a greater quantity of household goods, whether primitive or modern.



Kitchen in poor home.

Fig. 38.

Kitchen in well-to-do home.

Wealthier families generally own enough plates, pots, glasses, spoons, chairs, etc., to be able to serve fiesta meals to a large number of people without having to borrow, as do so many other Tepoztecan families.

The four features mentioned by Redfield as being inevitably present in the Tepoztecan kitchen of 1926-27 are still found, though with some modifications.[3] (Fig. 38 illustrates the contrast between kitchens in a well-to-do and a poor home.) These features are the hearth, the griddle, the grinding stone, and the pot. Today

[3] Redfield, *Tepoztlán*, p. 35.

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Today

almost every house has a hearth made of three stones set in a triangle, or of stones plastered in the shape of a horseshoe, to support the griddle. It is no longer always located on the floor, but is frequently raised to almost table-height by means of a cement platform. The use of platforms has been stimulated by the cultural missions that have visited the village and demonstrated to the more interested and enterprising women some ways of improving their homes. The *brasero*, a raised clay stove with two or three charcoal-burning iron grates on top, is generally still found only in better-to-do homes and is used sparingly or only for preparing fiesta meals. The *comal* (griddle), which in Redfield's time was always clay, is now frequently iron, and many families own one of each type. Though the *comal* is still an indispensable utensil in every home, the increasing consumption of bread, especially for breakfast and supper, makes it somewhat less used than formerly. The same is true of the *metate* (grinding stone), since almost all women now have their corn ground at the mill. But every home has one or more *metates* for re-grinding mill-ground corn and for emergencies. *Metates* are also used for coffee and for large quantities of chile for fiestas. Despite the commercial mills, no Tepoztecan woman would set up housekeeping without her own *metate*. Finally, the *olla*, mentioned by Redfield, is the clay pot in which the maize for tortillas is cooked. To this utensil must be added the pot for beans, another for coffee, and another for meat. Most families have one large pot to retain the water in which maize has been soaked and cooked, and the water needed to moisten the woman's hands as she makes tortillas. This water, which contains some nourishment, is then fed to the pigs.

The remaining house furnishings are relatively few; they consist mainly of sleeping equipment, religious articles, and various containers for storage. For sleeping there are three kinds of beds: the *petate* or straw mat placed on the floor; the *tepexco*, a raised bed of bamboo sticks tied together and placed on a wooden frame or on two sawhorses; and a brass or iron bedstead with metal springs over which a *petate*, rather than a mattress, is generally placed. The great majority of the population sleep either on the floor or on the *tepexco*, and only 19.29 per cent sleep on a bed or cot.[4] The proportion of those who sleep on a bed or cot for Mexico as a whole is far greater (61.1 per cent), and even for communities of 10,000 or less inhabitants it is 53.4 per cent.[5]

The majority of Tepoztecans sleep on the floor because they lack the funds to buy beds, but most of the older generation, regardless of their economic status, sleep that way by preference. Many an acculturated family has sought without success to accustom the old mother or grandmother to sleeping on a bed. Some old people are afraid of falling off during the night, others say that to sleep off the ground is to be more subject to *los aires* (evil winds). One old woman told her grandchildren that it is better to sleep on the floor because it is closer to mother

[4] This figure was derived from a special tabulation of census data for Tepoztlán taken from the Mexican Census of 1940.

[5] Whetten, *Rural Mexico*, p. 291.

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nails and now, not infrequently, on wood or wire clothes hangers purchased in Cuernavaca. Clothes closets are used only in a very few well-to-do homes in the center of the village. Food, except corn and beans, does not present a storage problem, since it is purchased in small quantities for immediate consumption. A few cans, bottles, jars, and baskets usually suffice to take care of current food. But the more modern or acculturated the family, the greater the number of storage facilities.

The family supply of corn presents the most important storage problem. For this purpose separate structures resembling corncribs are built in the family patio. Redfield describes these as follows:

> The storehouse (S. *troje*) is practically always present, and is usually placed immediately in front of the dwelling. It occurs in three forms, all of which are probably of entirely pre-Columbian design. The *ohuatlapil* (N. *ohuatlapilli*) is most common. This is circular, about six feet high and of varying diameter; it is made of vertical cornstalks bound together with rope. It contains maize on the cob (S. *mazorca*). Also made to contain *mazorca* is the *cincolote* (N. *zincolohtli*). This is square, of poles laid horizontally, one pair upon another at right angles to the first until the structure is raised tall enough to contain the maize to be stored. The *cuezcomate* (N. *cuezcomatl*) is a vasiform granary, plastered inside and out with clay. In it is kept shelled corn.[9]

The *cuescomatl* is now a rarity in Tepoztlán, since most of them have been dismantled or allowed to fall in ruin. They are considered very primitive in appearance, and the few families who still own them are not keeping them in good repair and obviously do not take pride in them, although some of them are over a hundred years old. Now shelled corn is stored inside the house in large sacks made of *petates* sewn together, in large baskets, or in burlap bags.

The sewing machine has, as Redfield put it, "become a part of the general Tepoztecan material culture; it is found in all parts of the village and in houses otherwise Indian in character." At present there are 215 sewing machines in Tepoztlán, owned by 25.3 per cent of the families. This is a relatively high proportion in comparison with other rural areas. The average distribution in rural areas throughout Mexico is 15.6 per 100 families; the average for both rural and urban areas in the nation is 22.5 per cent.

Although sewing machines are apt to be found in the poorest homes, as well as in well-to-do homes, there is a high correlation between degree of wealth and ownership of sewing machines. We find such ownership in 76 per cent of Group III, 39 per cent of Group I–C, and 10 per cent of Groups I–A and I–B. It is interesting to note that among Groups I–A and I–B there is a considerable number of families who own no property except a sewing machine. The few wealthy families who do not have their own machines either have little need for one or have all their clothing made by a local seamstress. The 215 machines in Tepoztlán service many more than that number of families, since it is customary to lend or rent machines to relatives and neighbors, and most machines are in continuous use. Indeed, it may be said that one of the secondary but not unimportant effects of the sewing machine

[9] Redfield, *Tepoztlán*, pp. 33-34.

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provide food elements which the Tepoztecan diet would otherwise lack, since there is little cultivation of leafy green vegetables. But it is impossible to determine to what extent wild greens are consumed, because they are considered very poor fare, and Tepoztecans do not readily admit eating them. During times of scarcity a large number of families eat wild greens in quantity several times a week, and the chronically poor eat them regularly throughout the year. During the Revolution many families escaped starvation by subsisting almost entirely on wild plants. The names of most of these plants are native Indian terms, and are as follows:

quintoniles	*papalo*
verdolaga	*chipiles*
tesquite	*tequesquite*
pipisacos	*quelites*

Violets boiled with *tequesquite* are also eaten. The herbs are well-known spices, and medicinal grasses or leaves are used to make a variety of teas.

Additional fruits and vegetables are brought in by traveling merchants or are purchased in the large market in Cuernavaca. However, most of these are expensive and only the few well-to-do families of Tepoztlán can afford to purchase them more or less regularly. Foods not locally produced and commonly purchased in the stores of Tepoztlán, Yautepec, Cuernavaca, or Mexico City are bread,[1] sugar, salt, rice, certain types of chile and beans, noodles, and dried codfish. Chocolate is also purchased but is considered a luxury. Foods which are slowly becoming more popular but which are still purchased by a small minority are evaporated and powdered milk, canned sardines, tomato herring, or other fish.

The eating of white bread made of wheat flour is of particular interest in Mexico, since it is a relatively new trait and one which has been taken to indicate the degree of acculturation of individuals and groups. In Tepoztlán, bread is considered a very desirable food; and often the social and economic status of a family is judged in terms of the amount of bread that it consumes. From the Mexican Census of 1940, which included a question designed to estimate the number of persons who eat bread fairly regularly, we learned that over 31 per cent of the population of Tepoztlán eat bread. At present there is scarcely a family that does not eat some bread during the week or month, though it may be but once or twice. It is especially favored as a food for very small children, and even the poorest family seeks to provide a piece of bread daily for its youngest child. There is no indication, however, that bread will eventually displace the tortilla; at most, bread consumption among well-to-do families may represent about 10 per cent of the total food expenditure.

There is, of course, much variation in the actual consumption of food. Except among the wealthier families, irregularity in diet is characteristic throughout the year, and few families maintain a uniformly good diet from day to day even according to local standards. The type and quantity of food consumed is determined by the season, the fiesta calendar, and, most of all, the amount of cash on hand. "When

[1] Bread is baked locally, but wheat flour is purchased outside.

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we have money we eat, when we don't, we don't" is an oft-heard statement. The leanest part of the year for the majority are the three or four months preceding the harvest. During this time, many families are reduced to minimum quantities of tortilla, beans, and chile as steady fare or even merely *tortilla con sal* (with salt). 262

Before fiestas many families pull in their belts and eat less in order to sell their corn, beans, eggs, and chickens to get cash for new clothing, for the fiesta meal, and for spending money. The best eating occurs just after the harvest, and on fiesta days when *mole* made with chicken or turkey and rice and beans is served. Other irregularities of consumption are due to the seasonal availability of fruits and vegetables. Also, if the family trees produce poor *ciruelas*, papayas, or wormy mangos, it means that the family goes without these foods. The locally grown [245] oranges, grapefruits, and lemons are normally inferior in quality and quantity.

Meat consumption rises during the dry winter months when pasture is scarce and cattle are slaughtered. Eggs are generally eaten only by men, especially during the planting season when work is most intense. Chicken and turkey are delicacies which are reserved for fiestas, weddings, baptisms, and birthdays. With the exception of [574] the wedding feast, which is socially obligatory and served by rich and poor alike, many families must forego serving fiesta meals, sometimes for years on end, and partake of them only when invited by other families. Game is not eaten extensively, [224] and the few men who hunt do so only when there is no other work, mostly during the dry season.

The correlation between diet and wealth is a positive one, in that the wealthier a family is the better it tends to eat. Its meals are larger and contain more variety throughout the year. But differences in the diet of the rich and poor consist principally in differences in the amount of food eaten, and in the relative frequency with [735] which a family can afford to eat the more desirable of the locally known food types. There are no class differences in food quality, in food types, or in ways of preparing dishes. The better-to-do have no special recipes, no unusual ways of cooking, no exotic foods which are unknown to the poor. 262 556

Many of the wealthier families, because of custom and habits of thrift, do not always eat the newer foods, such as bread or canned fish, nor do they necessarily indulge in luxuries like milk, eggs, chicken, sweets, fruits not locally produced, or out-of-season foods except for fiestas. In fact, it is commonly said in Tepoztlán that the rich are too miserly to eat any better than the poor. Whatever the reason, there is an underlying homogeneity in type of foods eaten; and if all families were equal financially, there would be much more uniformity in diet than at present. It is not wealth, but education or degree of acculturation, which is beginning to create real differences in diet.

Tepoztecan families normally eat three meals a day, although many remember eating only twice a day before and during the Revolution, because of poverty. It is seldom that the entire family eats together, and often there are no fixed hours for [735] meals. The father and older sons eat together in the morning before they go to the fields and in the evening when they return. If the field is at a great distance, the 264

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Dinner, the most substantial meal, is eaten in the middle of the day whenever possible. It may consist of beans, tortilla, and chile. A good dinner, according to the Tepoztecan view, should include meat cooked with some vegetables, a bowl of rice or noodles cooked in broth, and the inevitable beans, tortilla, and chile. Coffee may or may not be taken at the end of dinner. Supper generally consists of coffee and tortillas or bread, with perhaps a piece of cheese.

Variety is provided by changing the type of meat or by using fish and by varying the vegetables. Fruit, peanuts, sugar cane, candies, cookies, and other sweets are eaten between meals and are generally not regarded as food to be included in a meal. The taste for sweets is developing among the children, particularly school children, and they are becoming more demanding of their parents in this respect.

To get a better notion of the quantities of food consumed, as well as of the variety, we will examine a typical weekly food budget of a well-to-do family and of a poor family. (See Tables 48 and 49.) The prosperous family selected is in the upper economic group and is one of the more respected, educated families in the village. At the time of our study, the family consisted of the parents and an adult son and daughter. Both the son and daughter had received considerably more education than is common, and both had lived in Mexico City with relatives.

The other family is one of the poorest in the village. The father is a *tlacololero* and works alone to support his wife and seven young children. An older daughter left home to work as a servant in Cuernavaca, but she contributes nothing to the family. The ages of the children at home range from an infant-in-arms to fifteen years. Both families were observed during the summer months before the harvest in the year 1944. The slight differences in some of the prices were due to local fluctuations; the smaller quantities purchased by the poor family sometimes resulted in higher costs. The weekly budgets represent a summary of daily expenditures directly observed or estimated by our field workers.

A comparison of the weekly food budgets reveals that, although Family I has fewer mouths to feed, it spends three times more on food and consumes consistently more of every food item, with the exception of corn, green chile, lard, and salt. Its weekly diet provides greater variety, more sources of protein and more of the highly prized "luxury" foods. The corn-beans-chile complex mentioned earlier makes up only 13 per cent of the diet of Family I and 46.9 per cent of that of Family II. Taken alone, corn represents 34 per cent of the food expenditure of the poor family and 9 per cent of that of the well-to-do family.[9] Despite this, the latter consumes only 2½ *cuartillos* less corn a week. If we consider those food items which are consumed daily or in the greatest quantities weekly by the poor family, we find that corn, beans, green chile, lard, wild greens, coffee, sugar, salt, and green tomatoes make up 83 per cent of the expenditure of this family. These foods may be said to be the real core of their diet. The same foods take up only 22 per cent of the expenditure of the other family.

[9] During certain times of the year some Tepoztecan families live on a diet which consists of from 50 to 70 per cent corn.

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TABLE 48. Typical Weekly Food Budget, 1944.

Food	Family I (Well-to-do, 4 Adults) Quantity	Cost in Pesos	Family II (Poor, 2 Adults, 7 Children) Quantity	Cost in Pesos
Corn	10½ *cuartillos*	2.94	13 *cuartillos*	3.64
Beans	1¼ *cuartillos*	1.12	1½ *cuartillos*	1.02
Lard	¼ *cuartillo*	1.00	¼ *cuartillo*	1.00
Green chile	½ *cuartillo*	.25	Over ½ *cuartillo*	.35
Lime (for tortillas)		.10		.05
Coffee	¼ *cuartillo*	.25	¼ *cuartillo*	.35
Sugar	2 kilos	.90	½ kilo	.35
Salt	About ½ kilo	.20	½ kilo	.35
Tomatoes (green)		.50		.35
Tomatoes (red)	1 *cuartillo*	.60		
Eggs	1½ dozen	2.80		
Milk	10½ liters	6.30		
Meat	1½ kilos	3.00	¼ kilo	.20
Bread		4.20		.15
Rice	1 kilo	.50	About ½ kilo	.20
Noodles		.70		.20
Cheese	1 kilo	1.80	¼ kilo	.45
Vegetables		1.75		.45
Fruits and sweets		3.00	Peanuts and acacia seeds	.05
Wild greens			3 times a week	1.50
Total		31.91	Total	10.66

TABLE 49. Fiesta Meals.

[574]

Family I[a] Occasion	Cost of Food	Family II[b] Occasion	Cost of Food
June:		June:	
Son's Saint's Day	25.00	Barrio Fiesta	6.35
August:		Mother's Saint's Day	1.05
Barrio Fiesta	15.00		
October:		November:	
Daughter's Saint's Day	20.00	Day of the Dead	5.00
November:			
Day of the Dead	25.00	February:	
December:			
Christmas		Eldest Daughter's Saint's	
The Posadas	70.00	Day	31.25
February:			
Fiesta of La Candelaria	30.00		
Total	185.00	Total	43.65

[a] The fiesta meals of this family always include the traditional appropriate dishes and an abundance of sweets, fruit, and drink.

[b] The fiesta meals of this family generally consist of extra meat. This year, for the first time, the family had a birthday celebration for a child. It was for the purpose of inviting her godparents, who are also her employers. Three chickens were served with *mole* sauce and rice. There was also pulque, lemonade, and fruit on this occasion.

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Unfortunately, we were not equipped to analyze family diets in terms of nutrition or caloric values, nor to determine the presence of vitamins, minerals, and other food elements. In our comparison of the two weekly diets presented here, we can only point to some of the quantitative aspects involved. These tend to parallel and support the more detailed data gathered by Beals and Hatcher in their study of the diet of Cherán.[10] The "wealthy" diet in Cherán is higher in vitamins A, B_1, and B_2 and protein and calory intake but lower in vitamin C than the "poor" diet. The latter was deficient in vitamins B_1 and B_2 and low in proteins and calories; vitamin C intake was higher because of the greater use of chile.

In Tepoztlán, we find that the wealthier family spends twelve times as much on the important protein foods—meat, eggs, and cheese—and that they also consume a larger quantity of beans, which is another source of protein. The high consumption of milk, in contrast to the complete absence of milk in the diet of the poor family, is important as a nutritional difference. The greater weekly consumption of sugar, fruits, and sweets would also result in higher calory intake for the wealthier family. Although the poor diet includes somewhat more chile, which is a good source of vitamin C, the better diet includes some vitamin C because of greater fruit consumption. The reliance of the poor family on wild greens, absent in the diet of the wealthier family, is an important source of minerals and vitamins.

The consumption of bread provides another strong contrast in the diet of our rich and poor families. The rich spend 28 times more on bread, or 13 per cent of the total weekly food expenditure. This item, which, in addition to its nutritional aspects, is an important indicator of social and economic status in Tepoztlán, represents an expenditure of 1.4 per cent for the poor family. The basic homogeneity of the Tepoztecan diet is deceptive in terms of nutrition and, in all probability, in terms of the simple satisfaction of hunger as well. It is not insignificant that all the children in the poorer family are small, thin, pale, and listless, while the two grown children in the wealthier family appear well nourished and well developed.

Diet is also affected by fluctuations in the cost of food. During the year there are seasonal changes, prices generally being higher in the months before the harvest, beginning with May, and dropping after the harvest. It is in the pre-harvest period when most families keenly feel a shortage of cash. But more important than seasonal variations in food costs is the fact that prices have risen sharply and steadily from 1926 to the present. This rise, more than any other factor, has tended to maintain the traditional or conservative diet in Tepoztlán and to hold back the definite trend toward new foods and greater variety. For instance, although the consumption of bread is viewed as desirable and has increased considerably (the number of bakers rose from 6 to 24 between 1926 and 1944), it is still a luxury for a large proportion of the population. The price has more than doubled in the past four years and is still rising. We find a strong correlation between the degree of wealth

[10] Ralph L. Beals and Evelyn Hatcher, "The Diet of a Tarascan Village," *America Indigena*, Vol. 3, No. 4 (October, 1943), pp. 298–301.

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and bread consumption, indicating that the economic factor is an important one. The following percentages show this correlation:

Economic Group	*Per Cent Who Eat Bread*
I-A and I-B	23.20
I-C	32.30
II	50.82
III-A	41.55
III-B	57.69
Tepoztlán	31.18

The consumption of meat has also risen considerably. In the same period, from 1926 to 1944, the number of butchers increased from three to fifteen. From an analysis of the municipio records which, for purposes of taxation, show the number and kind of animals slaughtered, we can arrive at a fairly accurate quantitative estimate of the increase in meat consumption.[11] Comparing 1931 and 1933 with 1941 and 1943, we find the following:

Animals	*1931 and 1933*	*1941 and 1943*
Hogs	289	640
Oxen	93	277
Cows	29	225
Yearling calves	94	130
Steers	173	264

Assigning approximate meat weights to the above animals, we find a total of 80,035 kilos for 1931 and 1933, as compared with 190,250 kilos for 1941 and 1943. Since practically no meat is sold outside the village, we can conclude that the consumption of meat during those years rose more than 130 per cent, while the population increase was approximately 30 per cent. As in the case of bread, and based chiefly on our observation and data on budgets and diets, the consumption of meat is directly affected by family income and prevailing prices.

We have figures to show the rise in price of corn, beans, sugar, lard, salt, meat, and rice from 1926 to 1944. They are shown in Table 50.

In a period of eighteen years, the price of corn, beans, and meat has risen 400 per cent; lard and salt, 500 per cent; and sugar and rice, 300 per cent. In 1948, the prices were a great deal higher. For example, corn sold for 70 centavos a *cuartillo* in the local market. Unfortunately, we have no comparable data on family income, nor can we show how the rise in price has affected the gross consumption of the basic staples. But we have already noted in the budget studies that poverty tends to limit diet to the staples and to restrict sharply the purchase of new or varied foods.

[11] Many individuals do not report all animals killed, to evade the tax. These figures are, therefore, an underestimate.

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291.

Fig. 44. Modern dress for men.

No girl under age 9 and only seven girls under age 19 wore long skirts.[18] The small percentage of women over 40 who wear dresses are women of wealthier or more citified families.

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Women under 40:	Long skirts 10.5%	Dresses 89.8%
Women over 40:	Long skirts 87.5%	Dresses 12.4%

Age is also a factor among men in the wearing of new- and old-style clothing. An analysis of those wearing *pantalones* and those wearing *calzones* shows that the *pantalones* are worn primarily by men under 40, but that *calzones* are more popular among the male population as a whole.

Men under 40:	*Pantalones* 44%	*Calzones* 56%
Men over 40:	*Pantalones* 11%	*Calzones* 89%

In the age group from 1 to 9, the majority of boys wear *calzones*. However, half the boys from age 10 to 19 wear *pantalones*, and the other half, *calzones*.

Occupation is another important factor in determining the type of clothing worn by men. Farmers prefer the old-style dress because, they say, it is better adapted to work in the fields. (See Fig. 45.) *Calzones* are cooler, afford better protection, and are more economical. Huaraches, too, are half the price of shoes and last four times as long. The merchants, artisans, and teachers of the center make up the bulk

[18] In 1948, long skirts were not to be seen among this age group.

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291 of those who wear modern dress. (See Fig. 46.) These men have frequent contact with the city, and shoes and dark trousers are more practical for their mode of life.

178 In comparing men and women, we note some interesting differences in the trend of styles. Seventy per cent of the women, as compared with 38 per cent of the 291 men, use the new style of clothing; the old styles are disappearing among the women but not among the men. We also find that 14 per cent of the women, as compared with only 5.4 per cent of the men, wear shoes daily. Of course, it should be remembered that the only alternative a woman has to wearing shoes is to go barefoot, whereas men may and do wear huaraches. Nevertheless, in terms of departing from tradition, the wearing of shoes by women is significant. In general, women are less conservative than men in dress and have a stronger drive to be citified and to dress according to the prevailing fashions.

291 The wearing of modern clothing is related to barrio residence. This is more true 621 of men than of women, as Table 51 indicates.

TABLE 51. Percentage of Men and Women Who Wear Modern Dress.

Barrio	Dresses*	*Pantalones*	Shoes (Daily)
Santo Domingo	68.8	37.4	18.5
La Santísima	74.0	52.0	26.0
San Miguel	70.6	46.2	25.9
Santa Cruz	65.1	21.3	3.9
Los Reyes	70.0	17.5	1.7
San Sebastián	63.2	16.6	2.0
San Pedro	65.8	8.8	0.6

The use of dresses is almost equally distributed throughout the village, with the smaller barrios showing slightly less. In contrast, there is a sharp drop in the use of *pantalones* by men in the smaller barrios. Similarly, there are fewer people in these barrios who use shoes daily. The explanation lies principally in the fact that these barrios consist almost entirely of farmers.

291 Wealth and economic status is only a limited determining factor in style of clothing worn. Before the Revolution, style differences between the upper and lower 556 economic groups were sharper. At present, although clothing is becoming more [669] and more important as an indicator of social status, it is not necessarily an indicator of wealth. The middle economic group, which we have already noted as being the [554] most acculturated group in Tepoztlán, tends to wear modern dress and shoes more frequently than the upper economic group. This was clearly seen in Table 46, p. 176, which attempts to correlate the wearing of shoes with the economic grouping.

The wearing of shoes relates more to the factors of age and occupation than to wealth. The lowest percentage of those wearing shoes is found among the wealthiest, Group III-B, primarily because they are all of the older generation. The largest percentage of those wearing shoes is found in Group II, which contains most of the merchants, artisans, students, and teachers.

291 The type and quality of clothing worn by children also depend upon age, degree 855

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291 855 of acculturation of the family, barrio residence, and, to a greater degree than among adults, upon the family's economic status. Other factors affecting children's dress are school attendance and favoritism at home.

291 855 858 The younger a child is, the less effort and money is expended on his clothing and the less significance his clothing has in revealing economic status. In most families, pre-school children are not as well dressed as children who go to school. The only exception to this is the young favorite child of a better-to-do family. A favorite son may be given a little *gabán* as early as three years of age, but most boys do not receive *gabanes* until they begin to go out into the fields. A favorite girl may be given a little *rebozo* as soon as she asks for one, but generally girls receive a *rebozo* at about eight or nine. In very poor families a girl might not be given a *rebozo* until eleven or thereabouts. A favorite girl may receive a pair of gold earrings or a pair of holiday shoes at the age of two or three. Most girls do not receive these before they are fifteen; boys are given huaraches when they begin to work in the fields. [556] Sweaters are worn by children of better-to-do families only.

291 855 [872] [178] Parents tend to keep their school children's clothing cleaner and in better repair. Many also make some attempt to keep children dressed in the prevailing styles for their age group. This usually means shorter, better-fitting dresses for the girls, jackets and ready-made pants for boys. (See Fig. 47.) There is also a definite trend among families with enough means to buy children's shoes for special events and school fiestas. The school now places some pressure upon parents to provide shoes for their children by forbidding the latter to join public school parades if they are barefoot. Differences in the clothing of the children of the rich and poor and of the more conservative and acculturated are becoming more marked and school children are becoming aware of the social distinctions involved. Their responses to the thematic apperception cards show school children to be particularly sensitive to clothing and to make appearance a significant aspect of their stories. [554]

291 511 The quantity of clothing owned varies considerably from individual to individual. Even within the same family there is some variation. In general, youths and adolescent girls have the most and finest clothing, and the very young and very old have the least. In the poorest families each member may have only one dress or suit of clothing, but this is not common in Tepoztlán. Most women have at least two cotton dresses for daily wear and one rayon dress for fiestas; most men own at least four shirts, four *calzones*, and one or two pairs of huaraches. The children of the poor tend to have less than this minimum and frequently do not have special clothing for fiestas. In contrast, the middle and upper economic groups have many clothes, and among a few families there is evidence of extravagance in dress. [292] [735]

DIVERSION

796 [527] [517] Fiestas, both religious and secular, continue to be the main source of diversion for all groups in Tepoztlán. Every year the church calendar provides at least sixty-two important fiestas for Tepoztecans to celebrate, either as participants or observers. Not a month passes without a fiesta, and in some months there are five.

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No one attends all fiestas, but all attend some. Widows and older women are known to be *muy fiestera* and habitually attend as many fiestas as possible. The very poor tend to participate in the fiestas of other barrios and other villages, whereas the well-to-do are more careful to attend the religious services held in the central church. Children especially like to attend fiestas and beg to accompany their mothers or aunts. The sharp drop in school attendance during certain fiesta times is a chronic complaint of the school. Tepoztecans also frequent the fairs of Chalma, Jiutepec, Tepalzingo, Tlayacapan, and Mazatepec. Some go to buy or sell, but others go purely for diversion.

The establishment and increasing popularity of many national and patriotic holidays are making for a new type of diversion in the village. These occasions differ from the traditional fiestas, in that they are organized by the school staff and are carried out by the children. They consist of plays, dances, recitations, speeches in explanation of the holidays, and singing of national songs. Parades of school children are also becoming familiar events during the year. These celebrations are liked and well attended, and are becoming more and more a significant part of local life. Other contributions of the school to local entertainment are occasional dances and *kermeses*, at which food and drinks are sold and games played to raise money for various school needs. These activities are enjoyed by the young people, but attendance is generally small because of the resistance of the older generation to modern ballroom dancing; they look upon it as immoral, even when supervised. The school organizes occasional excursions for the children, but since these involve some expense many parents do not permit their children to participate. A literary and dramatic group was once organized in the school, but it was short lived because of local criticism and gossip.

Perhaps the next most common form of diversion is to go to Cuernavaca on one pretext or other. On Sundays, groups of young men take the bus to Cuernavaca where they spend the day walking about, playing pool, drinking in the *cantinas*, and visiting with prostitutes. Other men go to Cuernavaca for secret rendezvous with widows or married women from Tepoztlán. Women and girls go to Cuernavaca to buy or sell things at the market and to look at the store windows. A few of the more citified girls go to Cuernavaca to attend the movies and to buy the latest fashion magazines. Although it is impossible to estimate the effect of the pressure of this small but sophisticated tourist center on Tepoztlán, it is certain that it plays a strong role in providing a source of diversion and temporary personal freedom.

Sports as a form of popular diversion are limited. The traditional cockfights are all but gone and the *jaripeo* (rustic rodeo), although still liked, is declining because of the lack of skill and interest on the part of young men. Hunting is seldom indulged in as a sport, and even less so as a source of food supply. Those who are hard pressed to earn a living find it more profitable to spend the slack seasons working as peons for others. Singing and serenading at night is still popular among young men and is a source of pleasure for most villagers.

Organized sports or games were first introduced in Tepoztlán in 1922 as a con-

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twice a year the Acción invites members from other villages and provides them with a banquet and special religious services.

From the point of view of its effects upon the social structure and levels of living, recent trends in entertainment have tended to make for greater differences among the various economic groups. The new forms of diversion invariably involve an expenditure of money for dues, equipment, bus fare, shoes, clothing, and appropriate food. Thus, the very poor cannot join organizations like the sports club or Acción Católica, or go to Cuernavaca or to the movies, or celebrate birthdays with invited guests. The diversions which they can most easily afford are the fiestas and fairs and they rarely partake of others. It is the middle and upper economic groups which participate most actively in the newer type of diversions.

FAMILY BUDGETS

Having considered several separate aspects of levels of living in Tepoztlán we can now turn to a comparison and analysis of a few specific family budgets as a whole.[16] How much do families actually spend on food, clothing, health, recreation, and religious activities? How does a poor family compare with a rich family on the various items? What proportion of the expenditures are for subsistence, self-improvement, or economic investment?

We have estimated the approximate annual expenditures of seven families on each of the following items: food; basic household necessities; house upkeep, repair, and tax; clothing; education; health; religion and fiestas; diversion; investments; and miscellaneous. We will present again the two families for which we have already considered food expenditures.[17] It will be recalled that Family I is in the upper economic group and is made up of the parents and two adult children. Family II is one of the poorest families in the village and includes the parents and seven children. Table 52 presents a summary of the annual expenditures of each family.

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[16] The study of family budgets in a community like Tepoztlán is beset with many difficulties. Illiteracy is high and most Tepoztecan families are not in the habit of keeping accounts of expenditures or income. In addition, there are attitudes of reserve and even suspicion concerning this type of investigation, so that intensive budget studies can be done only where rapport is excellent. Also, as we have seen earlier, there is much seasonal variation in diet and expenditures, and the prices of many items vary a great deal during the year, so that many adjustments have to be made in arriving at an accurate annual budget. To study income and expenditure for a few weeks and then assume a weekly average and multiply by 52 would not yield accurate results in the case of Tepoztlán. Ideally the investigator should live with a family for at least a year and keep a daily account of income and expenditures for the family. In practice this is not always feasible. It seriously limits the range of data that the anthropologist can get and is very time consuming; only a few families could be studied in this manner by a single investigator. In getting the budgets presented here, a combination of the intensive and extensive approaches was used. Detailed schedules were drawn up, and daily records were kept for a few families for periods ranging from two to eight weeks. In addition, budgets were reconstructed for the preceding year by questioning of family members. In general the data on expenditures were much more satisfactory than those on incomes. Also, we found repeatedly that income was below expenditures, a common phenomenon in budget studies of low income families in rural areas in the United States.

[17] See "Diet," p. 187.

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TABLE 52. Comparison of Annual Expenditures of Two Families.

Item	Family I		Family II	
	Pesos	Percentage	Pesos	Percentage
Food:				
Daily	1,686.88	28.6	564.20	56.5
Fiestas	180.00	3.1	43.65	4.3
Alcohol	—*	—*	25.00	2.5
Basic household necessities	303.28	5.2	120.64	12.1
House upkeep, repair, and tax	1,165.00	19.7	2.00	.2
Clothing	412.50	7.0	79.15	7.9
Education:				
School supplies	0	0	4.24	.4
Newspapers, magazines	26.00	.4	0	0
Health	180.00	3.0	8.24	.8
Religion and fiestas	46.80	.8	32.05	3.2
Diversion	64.80	1.1	21.80	2.0
Investments:		27.8		7.2
Purchase of animals	670.00		68.00	
Feed for animals	972.24		4.20	
Miscellaneous:	179.40	3.0	25.50	2.5
Total	5,886.90		998.67	

* Undetermined.

Family II spends only one-sixth as much as Family I. The way in which the money is apportioned among the various items reveals some significant differences in the level of living of these two families.

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FOOD

The annual regular food expenditures were estimated from the weekly expenditure already presented (see p. 192). Family I spends almost three times more on food than Family II, but this annual expenditure represents only 29 per cent of its total expenditure, whereas that of Family II represents 56 per cent of its total.

The proportion spent by both families for fiesta meals is almost equal, being 3 per cent for Family I and 4 per cent for Family II. This is a disproportionately heavy burden for the poorer family, which normally does not spend so much on fiesta meals.[10]

[10] See p. 192 for fiesta meals included under irregular food expenditures.

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It is to be noted that the birthday of the father was not celebrated in either family, despite the fact that it is traditionally the most important birthday. It is quite common for men past youth to forego birthday celebrations as an economy measure.

Expenditure for alcohol is an almost inevitable item in every Tepoztecan household. It was impossible to estimate this item in Family I since the family was reticent to discuss it. The father has, in recent years, begun to drink heavily, and during periods of drunkenness, has wasted considerable family funds. A conservative estimate of his expenditures on alcohol would be at least four times that of Family II. It is interesting to note that the daughter in Family I also likes to drink wine and beer with her more sophisticated friends. This is a custom she learned while in Mexico City; in Tepoztlán she and her friends indulge only in great secrecy

In Family II only the father drinks. When he has money he drinks about 10 centavos worth of alcohol each morning.

BASIC HOUSEHOLD NECESSITIES

The articles included and the cost of each for both families are as follows:

	Family I (Pesos)	*Family II* (Pesos)
Soap	62.40	26.00
Charcoal	57.00	—
Wood	18.00	54.60
Kerosene	18.72	10.92
Cigarettes	43.68	7.80
Candles	43.68	18.72
Matches	7.80	2.60
Laundress	52.00	—
Total	303.28	120.64

The better-to-do family uses more soap, bathes and changes clothes more often, uses labor-saving charcoal, and has better lighting in the home. The father and son each smoke about three times more cigarettes than the father of the poor family, and the mother of the first family has the aid of a hired woman for the laundry. However, expenditures for household necessities for Family I is 5 per cent of the total, whereas for Family II it is 12 per cent.

HOUSE UPKEEP, REPAIR, AND TAX

This item provides a sharp contrast between the two families. The better-to-do family spent 1,165 pesos, or 19 per cent of its total expenditures, on improving its house; the poor family spent nothing but the 2 pesos for house tax. Family I regularly paints, whitewashes, and repairs its house; Family II has not done anything to improve its house in the past five years. The former has continually added rooms and out-buildings to the original house; the latter has lived in the same one-room house since marriage. It is one of the hopes of this family to add a room or porch, so that the older children may sleep separately from the parents and young children.

It is interesting to note that the tax for the improved house is little higher than

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INVESTMENTS

The most common form of investment among rich and poor in Tepoztlán is the purchase of animals. In 1944, the investments of both families were as follows:

Family I	*Pesos*	*Family II*	*Pesos*
Purchase of cattle and other animals	670.00	Purchase of four pigs during year for 58. (Two died and two were sold for 52, resulting in a loss of 6.)	58.00
Animal feed	972.24	Purchase of two chickens	10.00
		Feed for chickens for two months	4.20
Total	1,642.24	Total	72.20

The above expenditures constitute 28 per cent of the total expenditures of Family I, and 7 per cent of those of Family II.

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MISCELLANEOUS

	Family I (Pesos)		*Family II* (Pesos)
Plow	25.00		
5 Plow-scrapers	12.50		
Dishes, *comal*, clay pots	48.00		10.25
Barbershops:			
Father and son	20.40	Father	15.25
Daughter	8.50		
Stamps	25.00		
Gifts by daughter to friends	40.00		
Total	179.40	Total	25.50

The expenditures for miscellaneous items are 3 per cent of the total expenditures for both families.

SPENDING PATTERNS

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The spending patterns, indicated in the annual expenditures of these two families, can be taken as typical for the socio-economic levels which they represent. Family I, like other acculturated families in the middle and upper groups, spends relatively large proportions of its income on items connected with comfort and health, such as food, household articles, house repair, doctors, and medicines. Expenditures for clothing, birthdays, and other fiestas celebrated within the home are also comparatively large, sometimes reaching the point of conspicuous consumption. Families of this type usually spend more than other families to educate their children. Expenditures for diversion and contributions to the church and other religious activities are proportionately small. Economic investments, which represent the largest and most important expenditure among the majority of well-to-do Tepoztecan families, is, in this acculturated family, little more than one-fourth of all expenditures.

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Family II, like most poor families in Tepoztlán and, indeed, everywhere else,

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of whom were Tepoztecans. The cooperative was organized according to a plan suggested by the authorities in Cuernavaca. It had a directive body consisting of a president, secretary, and treasurer. The cooperative bought the charcoal from its members at the price of thirty-five pesos a *tonelado*. But it deducted eight per cent for handling expenses, including payment of the tax to the forestry department, a salary for the secretary, and for office equipment.

The cooperative became a powerful force in the village, and entered into politics. Its president, Juan Hidalgo, was elected president of the municipio in 1933 and 1934. In this capacity, Hidalgo was able to use the funds of the cooperative for public works and thereby gained much popularity. Under Hidalgo's leadership the cooperative sponsored the repair of the municipal building, the construction of the few public toilets in the courthouse, the construction of a school in the barrio of Los Reyes, and one in the outlying villages of San Juan, Santiago, and Ocotitlán.

Juan Hidalgo became wealthy and powerful. An informant, sympathetic to Hidalgo, explained how this happened.

> In spite of the fact that Hidalgo began very poor he earned much money. He controlled the funds of the cooperative and made many loans to his friends and *compadres* in the village. He had in his hands the credit of the village, for anyone who needed a loan had to come to him. This way he became very powerful. In his hands was the economic fate of many. He could make them or break them.

Hidalgo had many enemies, especially the leaders of the former cooperative of the village of San Juan. In 1935 he was shot and killed. Informants blamed the killing on residents of San Juan. In the village itself the cooperative was fought by the Fraternales. But the prospects of an immediate income could not be resisted by the Tepoztecans, and the cooperative won out in the early years. After Hidalgo's death, however, the cooperative began to decline. The succeeding president was accused of financial irregularities and fled the village for his life. An investigator from the Departamento Agrario confirmed the accusation and charged all the officials with negligence. The major burden of blame fell on the president; and since he had fled, nothing could be done.

After the death of Hidalgo, the candidate of the Fraternales was elected president, and many difficulties were placed in the path of the cooperative. The president denounced the cooperative to the federal forest authorities for excessive and illegal cutting of trees. The authorities investigated and fined the cooperative and finally in 1937, the cooperative went into bankruptcy and was dissolved.

The political history of the village since the middle thirties is given in the following account, written for me by an informant who has been close to the local government throughout this period. His account gives the reader something of the local flavor of politics, with its buying of votes "by dint of a few glasses of pulque," the drunkenness and petty thievery of officials, and the bitterness between local political factions. His use of the term "Bolsheviki" in referring to the Fraternales reflects the identification of the two in the minds of many Tepoztecans.

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husbands and wives, a young wife often addressed her older husband in *Vd.*, while he used *tú* to her.

The *Vd.-tú* relationship may also exist between employer and employee, particularly if the latter is younger and is well known to the employer. However, if an employer addresses an older employee in the familiar form, it is a sign of lack of respect and is taken to be an insult. When both persons are of the same age and are not strangers, they address each other in the familiar form.

In pre-Revolutionary days it was customary for wealthy *caciques* to address the rest of the population as *tú*, regardless of age, and to be addressed as *Vd.* Today, wealth plays a minimal role in the *Vd.-tú* relationship, in part because of the absence of sharp class differences, in part because of the humble origins of many of the present well-to-do. The memory of the deep hostility and fierce vengeance of the subordinate population toward the *caciques* is also a deterrent in taking advantage of higher economic status.

Men holding political office or political ambitions are generally careful to avoid the *Vd.-tú* relationship with other adults for fear of offending. They prefer the *Vd.-Vd.* relationship, for they seek many *compadres*, or the *tú-tú* relationship in which they acknowledge friendship or acquaintance with most people of their own age group. However, local officials tend to speak condescendingly in the *Vd.-tú* relationship to more humble Tepoztecans, as well as to people from outlying villages, regardless of their age. This attitude of arrogance on the part of the officials and respect for the authorities on the part of the general population is carried over from pre-Revolutionary days, as is the notion that to speak to the local president in the familiar *tú* adds to an individual's importance. However, within Tepoztlán proper, officials no longer dare to express superiority of status to the majority of the adult inhabitants. Only the priest and nuns maintain an *Vd.-tú* relationship with the rest of the population.

The *tú-tú* relationship is an intimate one and is used between husband and wife, sweethearts, and children. It is also used between two people of the same sex and of approximately the same age. However, in Tepoztlán this *tú-tú* relationship does not always imply intimacy, but rather the possibility of intimacy. Thus, it is from the same age group that the *cuates*, drinking companions, singing companions, and so on, are drawn; but for the rest, the *tú-tú* relationship may be almost as reserved and formal as *Vd.-Vd.* In this, Tepoztlán and other rural villages differ from the city where the use of *tú-tú* is reserved for only the most intimate friends, all others of the same age being addressed as *Vd.*

At least among the school children and older students there is a tendency toward urban usage of *tú* and *Vd.*, that is, the custom of having fewer but more intimate *tú* relationships and a greater number of *Vd.* relationships. Traditionally in Tepoztlán, although members of the same sex and age group continue to call each other *tú*, there is a marked withdrawal from intimate relations as they get older and particularly after marriage. The *tú-tú* relationship is undoubtedly a potentially dangerous one to continue, because of the equality of status and the possibility of

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within the patio walls, at the beck and call of their mother. In many families there is a constant tug of war between parents and children over how much time is to be given to play. Children are more difficult to control, and some parents find it necessary to withdraw their children from school or to punish them frequently. In the past, by the time a child reached nine or ten years of age he seldom required a beating; he had learned to obey. Today, obedience from a child of school age, particularly a boy, is maintained by the parents with continued application of "a strong hand."

In general, boys have more freedom to play than girls. But even when boys still too young to go to the fields with their father are not required to work at home, it is thought highly desirable for them to play at home with brothers and sisters. More "careful" parents try to keep their young sons off the streets, to protect them from learning "malice" from other boys, who are invariably described as "bad companions." But, as we have indicated, it is difficult for the mother to control sons, in the absence of the father. Boys from the age of six to ten frequently are seen playing in the street.

With few exceptions, girls are much more under the control of their mothers than boys are. Girls play in snatches between errands and chores, and as they grow older, less and less time for play is available. The burden of household work usually falls on the eldest daughter, although in most families all girls over ten are pressed into continual service. There is a particularly sharp, consistent drop in the enrollment of girls in school after the fourth grade, and approximately half of the school girls between ages ten and eleven are withdrawn from school to help with the younger children at home. (See Fig. 58.) Under special circumstances—such as the death of either parent, the birth of a new sibling, or the inability of the mother to take care of many school children or many grown sons unassisted—a girl may be permanently withdrawn from school before the age of ten. By the time a girl is twelve or thirteen she is considered too mature to attend school because of the possibility of involvements with boys, and she is generally kept at home. A very small percentage of girls attend school until the sixth grade. They are usually, though not necessarily, from middle-group or better-to-do families and often continue their schooling to become teachers or dressmakers. These girls are almost the only girls in the village who enjoy daily leisure and have some personal freedom.

Children of school age play a wide variety of games, some of which are learned and played at school, but most games are learned from older children. In the latter group are some games which have in all probability been played for hundreds of years, and others were taught in the schools before and just after the Revolution. Most of the games played in Tepoztlán are well known in other parts of Mexico and Latin America.

A comparison of some of the old and new games reveals significant contrasts and is suggestive of the type of influence being exerted by the school. The older games are characterized by quiet play, relatively little physical exertion, little or no

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fewer than thirty Tepoztecans were *braceros*—that is, temporary agricultural workers in the United States; by 1957, over six hundred men had been *braceros* for periods that varied from forty-five days to over a year. This occupational change has made for other great changes in the village. In 1943, Tepoztlán suffered from an acute land shortage. Now, because in many cases the *braceros* return to the village only to rest a few months before setting out for another period in the United States, it suffers from a shortage of manpower, and many *milpas* go unculivated. The *braceros* earn more in some months in the United States than they could earn in almost two years in the village, and many of them have invested their savings in improvements for their houses and in land and cattle. Many have brought home portable radios, mechanical toys, clothing, and cloth—the village now has four full-time tailors who are kept busy providing tailor-made pants for the villagers. Although the *bracero* movement has broadened the perspective of some Tepoztecans, who now greet American visitors with a few words of English, most of the *braceros* are isolated in work camps or on farms, speak no English, live on a Mexican diet, and on the whole learn little about the United States and its way of life. Very few learn agricultural skills that can be applied in the village.

Most of the *braceros* from Tepoztlán are young men between the ages of twenty and thirty. They come predominantly from the upper segments of the lower economic group (Group I) but also from the middle group II (see p. 37). Few come from the poorest families and fewer from the wealthier families of Group III. This is an interesting change from the pattern in the early forties when only individuals with political connections and with experience outside of the village became *braceros*. At that time most Tepoztecans feared to leave the village for a distant country or even to go to the government recruiting stations for *braceros* in Mexico City. With more education, the younger generation developed a greater readiness to explore the outside world and to dare the hazards of a long journey. The sudden spurt in *bracerismo* did not occur, however, until a school teacher in one of the outlying villages became a *bracero* recruiter (locally called *coyote*). He had been a *bracero* himself and knew how to make the necessary legal arrangements. Tepoztecan men paid him a fee in the hope that he would get them longer contracts and also jobs in California rather than in Texas or Arkansas. The fees, which the *coyote* purportedly shared with government authorities, ranged from 200 to 400 pesos depending on the length of time of work specified in the contract. Most of the villagers who signed up had to borrow from local money lenders at the usual high rate of interest but they had avoided having to deal directly with the authorities and so had found the courage to take the initial step.

The *bracero* movement has served as a partial though temporary solution of the agrarian problem in the village. Tepoztlán has become dependent on the United States economy. Were the United States suddenly to close its borders to Mexican *braceros*, there would probably be a crisis both in the village and in the nation.

Another important change in Tepoztecans is their greater readiness to sell their land. In 1943, it was difficult to find anyone in the village who would consider selling a housesite or an agricultural plot. For example, in 1942 a

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paper with some regularity and none of them were peasants. Magazine reading has increased, however. In 1956, about fifty villagers had magazine subscriptions. About half of these were for *Selecciones*, the Spanish version of the *Readers Digest;* others were for such publications as *Life, La Granja, La Tierra, La Sevilla.* Over a third of the subscriptions were held by teachers and most of the others by persons in nonagricultural occupations. The majority of the subscribers were under fifty, and reading was predominantly done by the men. Except for school teachers and some officials, few people owned books, but many children read comics.

Related to the developments noted above are changes in every stage of the life cycle, particularly the rearing of children. Again, most of the changes are found in the middle economic group, and the following discussion of the direction of change applies mainly to this group. Changes are occurring among the tradition-oriented members of the lower groups also, but at a much slower rate.

Women still prefer to give birth on a *petate* with the help of a midwife, but a doctor is often called in for difficult cases. Many young women are rejecting some of the "Indian" customs and cures of the midwives—the food taboos, for example, the use of smoke to help labor, and the wearing of the *huipil.* Magical practices like burying the first milk or throwing it over the roof are being discarded. Because more babies are being bottle-fed, the druggist now keeps a supply of baby bottles and nipples, as well as of formula mixtures. Young women feel less need to follow such customs as sweatbaths or the forty-day postpartum seclusion before the *sacamisa.*

A definite trend toward greater child-orientedness on the part of both parents is evident. Parents tend to be more permissive and more demonstratively affectionate with their young children. More fathers can be seen on the street carrying small children and a few help a little with the children at home. The swaddling of infants has been completely abandoned as "cruel" by some mothers. Parents indulge their children more, especially the first-born, and openly show their pride in their infants by buying them toys, shoes, and attractive clothing. This is in sharp contrast with the older attitude of guarding children from the attention of others through fear of the "evil eye." Younger and more educated parents punish more lightly, permit more play, and send their children to school for as long as possible. The period of adolescence is becoming longer and more clearcut, and the time when youths are expected to contribute to the support of the family is often delayed by years of study.

Arranged marriages have completely disappeared and more couples are marrying for love. Church weddings have become more elaborate and expensive and are patterned after those of the urban middle class. Newlyweds try to set up independent households immediately after marriage or as soon as it is economically feasible to avoid the problems of living with mothers-in-law. Some young wives work as school teachers or shopkeepers, but this is still unusual. More couples are resorting to legal divorce rather than mere separation or abandonment.

A noticeable change has occurred also among the educated middle group

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177 in attitudes and values and in the quality of interpersonal relations. It is too
156 early to tell how deeply these changes have affected the ethos and character
571 of the villagers, but all signs point in the direction of more profound changes to follow. In 1956, Tepoztecans seemed on the whole more outgoing and
[609] friendly and less bothered by the presence of outsiders. Children were noisier and smiled more; they were as apt to run toward as away from a stranger. Indeed, they begged tourists for centavos. Small groups of unchaperoned
[882] adolescent girls laughing and talking together were not unusual sights, and occasionally a village girl might be seen walking side by side with a boy in broad daylight. In general, the villagers were more accepting of their sophis-
[476] ticated members and provincialism seemed to be on the wane. There was more competition for jobs and scholarships and in general display.

That Tepoztecans have more drive and ambition for self-improvement
[167] is obvious. The young people are restless and have found the courage to leave the village to look for better opportunities. They are making greater demands on their parents for education, and they have more confidence in and more ability to cooperate with people outside the family over longer periods of time.
177 Friendship not based on formal reciprocal relationships has become increas-
[572] ingly important; *compadrazgo* has assumed a new significance in providing
[608] connections and social advantages. Material success and a higher standard of living are consciously admired and worked for and the motivation to hide
[556] wealth is weaker. Respect has come to be based more and more on wealth and
[555] social status. Education imparts higher status; a young man or woman who
[875] has a teacher's certificate expects to be treated more respectfully by his or her
[771] elders. The middle class, especially, feel that status is also gained by discarding folk beliefs and practices and becoming more Catholic.

It is apparent, then, that Tepoztlán has made great strides ahead in
177 the past fifteen years. The changes have been uneven, however, and not all the
433 sectors of the population have equally benefited. Faced with limited agricultural resources, low yields, an absence of irrigation, and little prospect of solving their agricultural problems through mechanization, the villagers have by-passed their agrarian problem and have instead become dependent on new occupations and on jobs outside the village.

Most of the changes in the village are enjoyed by the middle economic
177 group which even in 1943 had shown the most initiative and interest in raising
556 its level of living. This group has doubled in size and now constitutes about
565 25 percent of the total population. Moreover, it is no longer merely an economic group; it is emerging rather as a true middle class, consisting of professionals, white-collar employees, and self-employed artisans and shopkeepers whose values and goals have come to differ substantially from those of the peasantry. The sharpening cleavage between the middle and lower economic groups, between peasant and nonpeasant, is perhaps the most far-reaching and significant change in the village.

Although the lower economic group is proportionately smaller than it
[434] was in 1943, it still constitutes the great majority of the villagers—approximately 65 percent. Our data suggest that this group has become even poorer, both because of inflation and because its members have been deprived of a tradi-

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tional source of income by the prohibiting of charcoal production. Members of the lower segments of this group have gained least from the processes set in motion by the Mexican Revolution. They have been unable or unwilling to leave the village for jobs in the cities or to work as *braceros*. They have taken least advantage of the greater educational opportunities. They continue to farm for subsistence and cling to the old ways of life largely because these are cheaper.

As Tepoztlán moves further into the modern world, it is leaving behind its Indian language, many of its Indian customs, its local autonomy and the collective forms of pre-Hispanic times. Even the communal lands—the bulwark of the traditional order and formerly one of the most important bases for the corporate life of the community—seem destined to be divided up into *ejido* plots, and perhaps later into private holdings. With improved means of communication, greater faith in technology, greater dependence on a money economy and outside jobs, increasing occupational specialization, and a desire for a higher level of living, a change has come about also in the character of the people. As we have seen, Tepoztecans are now less suspicious, less withdrawn, and more concerned with personal development.

Tepoztlán today poses many questions which can be answered only with time. Will the growing individualism bring greater anxiety and frustration? Will it bring greater participation and trust in government? Will the traditional patterns of village life be able successfully to incorporate and reinterpret the present new elements—as has often been done with new elements in the past—or will the old and stable village culture soon be unrecognizable? Will Tepoztecans continue to sell their ancient lands and thereby convert Tepoztlán into a miniature Cuernavaca? Will the recent arrival of electricity be followed by the establishment of factories and the growth of a landless proletariat? Or will the village culture absorb the industrialism that seems to be on its way as some other villages have done?

Changes in village culture are exemplified in changing styles.

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